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(The following translated document, presented in three parts for greater ease in reading, was originally drafted in December 1946 and revised in October 1948, when the map and population chart attached to "a" part of the report were included. The document was written after consultations with almost every Mongol leader in Nationalist areas and Inner Mongolia after the Japanese surrender in 1945, and represents the ideas for Mongol independence held by the Mongol Racial Principle advocates, who are pro-American and anti-Communist. As far as this group is concerned - and it is representative of the Mongol people - Although most of the historical background included is well known, it is presented for the sake of the Mongol viewpoint. The table of contents covers the first two parts.)

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

It is not believed that this plan will receive the approval of all Mongols, but it is believed that most Mongols will not only approve of it but will also act in accordance with it.

Today, with the world divided into two camps - democracy and freedom on the one hand opposed to dictatorship and terrorism on the other - the Mongols, small as their forces may be, desire to take part in the defense against dictatorship and terrorism and to attain democracy and freedom for themselves. It is to the Americans, the leading force in the democratic camp, that we Mongols are making our appeal, so that they may realize the benefits to be derived from their aiding the Mongols, not only from a moral standpoint but also for reasons of common interest, and that they may be able to formulate a definite policy and act accordingly. Guidance from the Americans for the realization of this plan is earnestly sought.

October 1948

PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MONGOL NATION

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PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MONGOL NATION

1. Mongolia of the past:

Any study of Mongolia's past reveals that for more than 4,000 years the history of Asia has been the story of the struggle between the races of the north and those of the south. In other words, the history of the rivalry between the nomadic races of the north and the agricultural races of the south is, in itself, the history of Asia. The Mongols are the representative race of the northern nomads.

A. Chinese-Mongol relations in the past:

With the Great Wall as the line of demarcation, the dynasties of China rose and fell as the races to the north ascended or descended in power. The Mongols were a race of fighters. Victorious in battle, they entered China, took control of the Central Plain and established

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the famous dynasty of Yuan. Although the Yuan Dynasty was replaced approximately 100 years later by the Chinese Ming Dynasty, the Chinese never really gained control of the Mongols north of the Great Wall.

Soon after the Mongols had withdrawn to the land of their origin in the north, another nomadic race of the north, the Manchus (Tungus), subjugated China. At the outset, as preparation for their entrance into China and the establishment of a dynasty, the Manchus befriended the strong Mongol fighters and signed a military alliance with the eastern Mongols. With this alliance, the preparations of the Manchus were completed, and they were able to establish the Ch'ing Dynasty. However, the Manchus feared the Mongols and utilized Manchu political power and the Buddhist religion to divide the Mongols and weaken their will and fighting spirit. As a result, toward the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the Mongol strength began to decrease. With the establishment of the Republic of China, the Mongols were innocently persuaded by the Chinese slogan, "Harmony among the Five Races," to cooperate with China, and they gradually and unknowingly became subjects of the new Chinese government.

However, at no time, since the beginning of history, has China ever conquered the Mongol race. The Great Wall of China stands today as strong historical evidence of Mongol-Chinese relations. Moreover, in Outer Mongolia, and, until the establishment of the Manchoukwo government, in the various regions of Inner Mongolia, Mongol influences have remained, and, although a part of the territory has been lost, the Mongol land, people and organization have been preserved by the Mongols.

Therefore, it cannot be said that they were completely subjugated by the Chinese. It is a great loss to the Mongol race that Chinese historians should write of the Yuan and Ch'ing Dynasties as part of their own history.

B. Summary of the Mongol revolutionary movements:

In spite of the conflict between the Mongol concept of land owned by the race, a concept originating from Mongol nomadism, and the Chinese concept of land owned privately, and the resulting numerous clashes between the Chinese and the Mongols, the Chinese have persisted in the policy of sending their farmers to Mongolia to cultivate the land. A large number of Chinese have migrated to Inner Mongolia, mixed with the Mongols and established provinces and counties. Trouble has arisen continuously between the Chinese provinces and counties and the Mongol leagues and banners on matters of conflicting interest. Opposition to Mongol autonomy has been voiced by the Chinese immigrants even while exploitation of the Mongols by Chinese merchants was rampant, which finally provoked revolutionary movements in the various Mongol regions. These movements, with freedom as their goal, have spread over various parts of Outer and Inner Mongolia like angry waves. In outline form, they are as follows:

(1) The Independence Movement in Outer Mongolia:

The outbreak of the 1911 (Hsin Hai) Revolution lighted the fuse to the Outer Mongolian independence movement. At this time, the head of the first Outer Mongolian Independence Movement, Living Buddha Jebtsengdamba, as well as the other leaders of the Outer Mongolian Government, attempted to bring Inner Mongolia into their sphere of jurisdiction and carried on activities for that purpose among the Inner Mongolian banners. Leaders in parts of Ulanjab and Yehejo Leagues desired to unite with Outer Mongolia, with Lowangnorbo, Jasag of Durbet Banner (115-50, 41-40), in the lead. However, although Outer Mongolia finally

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acquired her independence, Inner Mongolia's attempt to merge with Outer Mongolia was defeated by the political activities of General CHANG Chih-tseng (張治中) of Suiyuan Province.

(2) The Independence Movement in Hulun Buir:

The first independence movement in Hulun Buir ran its course from December 1911 to February 1912, and from 1915 to 1920. Hulun Buir enjoyed a period of autonomy.

In 1921, a Youth Organization sprang up in this region, the result of the revolutionary movement in Outer Mongolia. In 1923 or 1924, a very close relationship was established between the Youth Organization and the National Revolutionary Party in Outer Mongolia.

(3) The Ming Pao (明保) Independence Movement in the Botha Region, under the leadership of Babojap:

In the history of China there is an incident always referred to by the Chinese as the "Mongol Bandit Uprising." From the spring of 1913 until October 1916, General Babojap led Mongol troops into eastern Mongolia and defeated Chinese Government troops wherever he found them. The Mongol Army advanced to Kuochistien (124-36, 43-21) and west to Linhsi (118-28, 43-32), which they captured. Soon after the fall of Linhsi, General Babojap was killed in an engagement with Chinese Government forces. Later, the Mongol Army occupied Ujumuchin and Horchin Banners and were active for a time, but most of the men dispersed after the death of their commander.

(4) The Independence Movement of Togtoho Taiji:

In 1911 Togtoho Taiji of Gorlos Banner also organized a volunteer army, but nothing came of it, and Togtoho sought refuge in Outer Mongolia, where he later became ill and died.

(5) The Independence Movement of the Inner Mongolian National Party:

In 1925 the Youth Party in Hulun Buir joined revolutionary elements in Inner Mongolia and organized the National Party, with Inner Mongolian independence as its goal. Later, however, because a rift developed within the party between radical and moderate elements, and because of the suppression suffered at the hands of Marshal CHANG Tso-lin, the radical elements separated from the party and organized an Inner Mongolian Youth Party. This group began underground activities, with separation and independence from China as the goal, while the moderate group joined the Chinese Kuomintang and attempted to gain Inner Mongolian autonomy through the San Min Cha I.

(6) The Independence Movement of the Inner Mongolian Youth Party, led by Mersei (Mersei/ known also by the Chinese name of KUO Tao-fu/ 亨道甫):

In 1928, with the death of CHANG Tso-lin and the unsettled political situation in Manchuria, KUO Tao-fu, the organizer of the Inner Mongolian Youth Party which broke away from the Inner Mongolian National Party, started in Hulun Buir an independence movement which reached as far as Shilingol and Ulan-jan Leagues. Uprisings as a result of the movement occurred in the Hallar (119-44, 49-13) area, but were suppressed by CHANG Hsueh-liang, successor to CHANG Tso-lin.

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(7) The Revolutionary Movement of Prince TE:

This movement was begun by the Mongols themselves without any foreign support and was guided by the racial consciousness of the people. The movement started in 1933. Later, with new developments in the general situation in Asia, Japanese influence entered into the picture, and, in a common defense against Communism, the Mongols were forced to cooperate with the Japanese, there no longer being a question as to whether this cooperation was desirable.

The following is the sequence of events in Prince TE's revolutionary movement: the establishment of the Mongolian Autonomy Political Affairs Council in accordance with the decisions of the Mongolian Autonomy Preparatory Council in Pailingmiao (110-27, 41-50); the establishment of the Mongolian Military Government in Tehua (118-08, 25-27); the offensive against IU Tso-1 in Inner Mongolia; the establishment of the Mongolian Federated Autonomous Government in Suiyuan; and later, by including the two autonomous governments of South Chahar and North Shansi, the establishment of the Mongolian Allied Autonomous Government in 1939. In 1940 the name was changed to the Mongolian Autonomous State. Throughout all these changes, the selection of leaders was made according to democratic principles, they being elected by the Mongol Assembly.

Of all the Inner Mongolian revolutionary movements, this one was the largest in scale, and it was not effected by only one group, as were the movements conducted by only the nobility (Wang Kung) or the Mongol youth. For the first time in Mongol revolutionary history, the princes, the youth, lamas and people of all classes were joined together in one movement. Prince TE was considered to have advanced ideas and most of those who gathered about him were ardently nationalistic Mongol youths. Thus, his principal support came from among the young people. He steered a middle course, wisely pacifying and controlling the two divergent groups, the young people and nobility, and maintaining a fortunate balance between the rapid reforms demanded by the young people and the conservative policies desired by the nobility.

Owen Lattimore writes, "Prince TE believes that there is a general trend for the restoration of the monarchy which may sweep from Inner Mongolia into Outer Mongolia. The symbol of this trend was the coronation of P'u Yi as the monarchic ruler of Manchoukuo. This was a welcome sign not only to the Manchurians, but also to the Mongols." However, about the time that Prince TE met Owen Lattimore, he may have had the idea that there was a general trend for the restoration of the monarchy, but when he started his revolutionary movement, he definitely had no such idea. With the surrender of Japan in 1945, the revolutionary movement crumbled, but some of Prince TE's followers are still carrying on underground activities for the restoration of the Mongol nation.

- (8) In 1945, at the end of the Second World War, revolutionary movements sprang up independently in eastern and western Mongolia. These movements are discussed further along.

C. Struggle of diverse influences in Mongolia in recent times:

In recent times, the struggle of the Great Powers in Asia has shifted from the sea to the continent. That is, Russia advanced on the continent to become active in Manchuria and Mongolia and relegated sea power to a position of secondary importance. England mobilized her forces on the continent to connect her land power with her sea power. Japan also participated in this struggle. Thus, Asia entered into its "continental period." Commenting on the clash between the con-

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tinental powers, Wilbur Batton, world authority on China's border problems, stated, "From the place where Temur built the 'Pyramid of Skulls', across the old battlefields of Genghis Khan, and over the 'Roof of the World' to the Yangtze Valley, a struggle is now going on between the British Empire, Soviet Russia and Japan. The area in which the struggle is taking place is the borderland of China, a place about which the world knows nothing at all." The rivalry for continental power in the borderland of China was centered around two regions, i.e., England and Russia in the Sinkiang region, and Japan and Russia in the Mongol region. The rivalry involving the Mongols was particularly intense. The struggle between Japan and Russia shifted from the sea to the continent early in the 20th century and has since moved gradually from Manchuria to southeastern Siberia and from there to northwest China and Mongolia.

Count Carlo Sforza, former Italian Minister in China and now an authority on Far Eastern problems in the Italian Senate, has stated, "Manchuria and Mongolia are the present-day Balkans; Vladivostok is the Sevastopol of tomorrow." Commenting on this, Owen Lattimore has said, "In writing about the fate of Asia, Count Sforza ignores the part played by the continental influence on shaping the fate of China, emphasizing only the part played by the sea influence. While the Count fully acknowledges that the western powers turned toward Asia from the sea, he has disregarded the history, traditions and importance of the region between the Great Wall and Siberia. The establishment of Manchoukuo is significant because the continental influence, centered in the districts north of the Great Wall, is overcoming the western influences approaching China from the sea." In other words, the border of Manchoukuo near Vladivostok is not as important as the Mongol border. Lattimore thus emphasized the importance of Mongolia. The Japanese concept of Mongolia was as follows: "Mongolia is the first line of defense against Communism. It is the lifeline of Japan." As explained above, Mongolia became the region of rivalry among Russia, Japan, England and, of course, China. It was even called the key to the future of Asia and appeared as if it might become the center of international politics.

2. Mongolia of the present:

As can be seen by a study of its history, Mongolia once spread far out into Europe and Asia, but because of inadequate transportation facilities in those days, vast areas were isolated from one another. With the dispersal of power and the devotion of the leaders to literary pursuits, to the neglect of military discipline, as well as the sufferings endured at the hands of the Manchurian Ch'ing Dynasty and the Chinese, Mongolia was greatly weakened. Although Outer Mongolia has become independent again through the assistance of Russia and America, Inner Mongolia has not yet recovered her former status.

China has violated the San Min Chu I (Three People's Principles), which call for the "support of the minority races within the country and the rendering of assistance to them in their attempt to gain autonomy and self-determination," and has instead attempted to bring about the disintegration of the minority races within the country. The Chinese Government at the present time has two plans for Inner Mongolia. One is to disorganize and disintegrate it; the other is to assimilate the Mongols through the influence of Chinese culture. The ultimate aim of both of these policies is to eliminate the Mongols as a racial entity. However, the Mongol people, who inhabit that vast stretch of land to the north of the Great Wall and extending into Siberia, upon looking back into their glorious history to Tamerlane and Genghis Khan and seeing themselves as the builders of the great nation which covered more than half of Europe, will become more and more racially conscious, so that there is not the slightest possibility of their being disintegrated or assimilated. The Manchurian Incident in 1931 began an era of unjust political and economic-

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al control by the Japanese militarists. However, the Mongols also derived many benefits from the Japanese in matters pertaining to culture and education, health and sanitation facilities, training of technicians, equipping, training of the military and the fostering of the people's racial consciousness.

The fact that the USSR effected the independence of Outer Mongolia and then made her a buffer state need not be elaborated on here, for it is well known to the world. The USSR has also reached into Inner Mongolia for the same purpose. On the surface, Russia is not taking any direct part in activities in Inner Mongolia at the present time, but there is no doubt that she is carrying on activities through the Mongolian People's Republic and the Chinese Communists.

In August 1945, Soviet troops entered Inner Mongolia, and when they withdrew, took with them much of the people's livestock, thus indirectly planting the seeds of Communism. Because of this, the Inner Mongolian people found it very difficult to maintain their livelihood.

When the Japanese surrendered, a provisional government of the Inner Mongolian Republic was established in Sunit Right Banner (112-53, 42-40) and in Wangyehmiao (122-01, 46-05) an Eastern Mongolian Autonomous Government was formed. Both of these were without foreign support and were purely national organizations of the people, but soon after, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Movement Alliance, or Allied Council (IMAMA), was established with YUN Tse as the head. The Inner Mongolian Republic's temporary government mentioned above was destroyed by the Chinese Communists and included in the IMAMA. The Eastern Mongolian Autonomous Government also compromised and was merged with the IMAMA.

Later, since there was a great deal of opposition from the Racial Principle advocates, an Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government was established in May 1947. It has jurisdiction over all of Inner Mongolia with the exception of the Hulun Buir Region, which was made into a special autonomous district. (According to reports, the Chinese Communists have nothing to do with Hulun Buir, the region being directly administered by the Soviets and the Mongolian People's Republic.)

In spite of the fact that Mongolia is ideally located as the first line of defense against Communism, the Chinese unfortunately seem unaware of this and do not even consider adopting a policy towards Inner Mongolia similar to that adopted by the Russians towards Outer Mongolia. This is merely further evidence of the ineptness of the Chinese in things political.

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